MONRONEY OF OKLAHOMA BY GEORGE MILBURN

THE Nation

August 8, 1953
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Settlement in Asia

WHAT THE BRITISH WANT

by Kingsley Martin

"Russia: What Next?" *Review by Mark Gayn*

Protestants Under Fire *Malcolm Evans*

Resistance in Illinois *R. W. Burnett and Henrietta De Boer*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Disturber of the Peace

Raleigh, N. C.

THE columned Chapel Hill Presbyterian church, with its five hundred seats, could not hold the University of North Carolina students who flocked to it on Sundays drawn by the message and the personal magnetism of the minister, the Reverend Charles Miles Jones. So during the school year Mr. Jones conducted two morning-worship periods. His sermons were delivered in a conversational tone. They dealt mainly with applied Christianity, the social implications of religion, and contained little Presbyterian doctrine. With a congregation "heavily weighted on the intellectual side," he said, knowledge of the tenets of the church was "taken for granted."

On March 1, 1953, by fiat of his superiors in the Orange Presbytery, the forty-six-year-old minister was removed from his post "in the interests of religion." A ten-man commission appointed by the Presbytery and dominated by ministers took the action without making specific charges or giving Mr. Jones a chance to state his case. Members of the commission said it was not influenced by Mr. Jones's racial views, but most of the church elders and others who have watched the controversies swirling around the minister's head for the past ten years are convinced that his open opposition to segregation constituted the submerged nine-tenths of the iceberg which caused the wreck.

Small numbers of Negroes have attended the Chapel Hill church during the pastorate of Jones, who is a native of Tennessee, as they did under other ministers. Students and professional groups found the church open to them for non-segregated lectures and meetings. During the war a group of graduate students often had breakfast with the Jones family on Sunday and sometimes brought along Negro friends.

• Charles Jones was now being talked about outside Chapel Hill by those who are always quick to apply the tag "nigger lover." He remained serene—his closest friends have never seen him angry—and with the support of his congregation continued to assert that segregation is "very unjust and degrading. . . . Color gives no man special standing with God. . . . As one born and reared in the South I've come to see that the color of a man's skin has no real relationship to his character or ability."

In 1948 four white and four Negro representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation traveled through the South testing the enforcement of segregation on interstate busses after the Supreme Court had nullified the laws. At the Chapel Hill station they were ejected from the bus in which they were riding. A fight was narrowly averted, and feeling ran high. Jones gave the group shelter in the Presbyterian parsonage. Soon after nightfall a group stoned the house and there were telephoned threats that it would be burned.

Early in 1952 the Orange Presbytery set up a judicial commission to study "the general situation" of Presbyterianism in Chapel Hill, with the power to remove church officers and pastors. The commission investigated for six months, going often to hear Mr. Jones preach and talking to elders and members of his church. It interviewed all twenty-two of the elders, fifteen of whom are on the university faculty. It then asked for the immediate resignation of Jones and all the church officers. In a six-thousand-word communication to the church it said it "found it difficult to ascertain the exact nature of Mr. Jones's theological convictions" but admitted that he was "deeply loved by the vast majority of the active officers and members. . . . There are those who frankly consider him an embodiment of Jesus."

The minister and the officers refused to resign. Last December in a secret ballot the congregation voted, 156 to 14, to request that the commission demands be withdrawn. It also took issue with findings that Presbyterian doctrine had been violated.

Soon the commission made the church an offer: fire Jones and we will help you get building funds from the synod. The congregation turned down the offer. Then the commission withdrew its demand for the resignation of the officers but remained adamant on Mr. Jones—he had to go.

Next the issue was taken before the entire Orange Presbytery, which promptly handed it back to the commission with the observation that the commission had the power to reach a final decision and then act upon it. Dr. Frank Porter Graham, long an elder of the church, former United States Senator, former president of the university, flew down from the headquarters of the United Nations, which he serves as mediator, to speak to the Presbytery in behalf of the pastor. "This could be solved in a Christian spirit if it's in your hearts to solve it that way," said Dr. Graham. "Charlie makes many mistakes. We all make mistakes. But there is about him a humility, a meekness. . . . He disturbs the social order of our time. And for anyone who does that, there is fault-finding. It takes courage. I wonder if there is a minister here who has suffered as much as Charlie Jones for his faith in God."

• Soon afterward the commission ousted Jones, who at the time was on a year's leave of absence to serve in Kingsport, Tennessee, with the Save the Children Foundation, a charitable organization. His congregation still refused to accept the decision and took the issue to the synod.

At a May meeting in Raleigh the synod set up a special council to go into the controversy. This council directed that Jones be given a new hearing and condemned "confidential evidence" collected by the judicial commission. Later the order was sustained by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. When the Orange Presbytery met on July 16, Jones asked that the hearing be held before the entire synod, since the Presbytery should not serve as prosecutor, jury, and judge. This request was refused. Jones then told the Presbytery that he felt prolonging the controversy would only damage the Chapel Hill church and added very quietly that he was resigning as a Presbyterian minister.

JAY JENKINS

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Senator from Ohio

This is not the time to attempt a summing up of the career of Senator Robert A. Taft whose sudden death has so deeply affected his colleagues and countrymen. Such an impressive demonstration of respect speaks eloquently of the qualities that were his and of his gifts as a party and legislative leader. At any time his passing would have brought that brief pause in the nation's life which only the death of a great man can bring. But his death at this time has disturbed and saddened many Americans who did not number themselves among his admirers. For to these he had come to stand, in the last months of his life, as the one leader of his party who might be relied upon, in the great emergencies ahead, to curb the right-wing extremists. His death has greatly increased the responsibilities of the President.

Senator Morse's Decision

Assuming that Governor Lausche will name a Democrat to fill the Senate vacancy caused by Senator Taft's death, did Wayne Morse act wisely when he decided not to force a reorganization of Senate committee chairmanships by announcing that he would vote as a Republican? It is admittedly a tough question. But with the exception of the Labor and Interior committees, the shift from Republican to Democratic chairmen would not represent much of a gain from the liberal point of view. The fact that reactionary influences so largely overlap the line which in theory is supposed to set Democrats sharply apart from Republicans is what makes Senator Morse's personal problem every American liberal's dilemma. But we trust that Morse drove a sharp bargain with the Republican leadership and that he will exert his very considerable power and influence to minimize the influence of such men as McCarthy and McCarran who demonstrate, in every vote, speech and action, that their dedication is not to party or principle but to aggrandizement of their personal power and privilege.

De Gasperi's Defeat

Not only the fall of De Gasperi but the surrounding circumstances make it a momentous event in a period of many major happenings. His swan song was a desperate effort to save the Cabinet by relaxing his previous rigid pro-Atlantic position. To win the support of deputies who, while strongly anti-Russian, object to Italy's role as a minor satellite of the United States, De Gasperi accentuated the nationalist note. He assured his audiences that Italy was not going to march alone toward the unification of Europe. He even hinted that Italy could if necessary regain its freedom of action and reconsider its foreign policy.

But none of this helped him. By 282 votes to 263 the Parliament rejected the Christian Democratic Cabinet formed after seven weeks of almost frantic maneuver. It was a real vote of no confidence. The left did not credit De Gasperi's intimations that he could achieve a more independent foreign policy; the Monarchists demanded as a condition of support the holding of another referendum on the monarchy. His former allies, the small center parties, turned their back on him. And even within his own party a "left wing" led by Giovanni Gronchi, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Amintore Fanfani, outgoing Minister of the Interior, is critical of the way De Gasperi has been conducting foreign affairs, though in the vote itself the Christian Democrats backed him solidly.

Should De Gasperi fail to assemble a Cabinet or decline to try again, his disappearance will have significant consequences in the councils of Europe—most immediately in the meeting of the six Schuman Plan states at Baden-Baden this month. Were he present, De Gasperi would provide strong support for a Europe united around the Coal and Steel Community now in process of creating its political organs. Without De Gasperi the project, so dear to Washington, will depend mainly on Dr. Adenauer. But the German Chancellor has enough on his hands with the coming German elections. He must calculate every move in terms of the rising demand for German unity and the lessening

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interest in European integration. From every point of view the defeat of De Gasperi has been a severe blow to American policy in Europe.

The Disarmament Resolution

It drew little attention, in the session just closing, but a concurrent resolution of major importance was tossed into the Senate hopper by an impressively large group of Senators who have the quaint notion that it is still proper and even desirable to think about world disarmament. Led by Senators Flanders and Sparkman and backed by a substantial assortment of civic groups, the resolution called for enforceable universal disarmament within the United Nations under a continuing system of inspection of atomic as well as other weapons of mass destruction. In committee the resolution was rather summarily appropriated by Senator Smith of New Jersey and when it emerged in a watered-down version was unanimously adopted by voice vote. The new version simply reaffirms the declared purpose of seeking enforceable limitation of armaments within the United Nations "in accordance with the principles set out in the President's address of April 16, 1953, to the end that a greater proportion of the world's productive capacity may be used for peaceful purposes and the well-being of mankind."

It is unfortunate that public hearings were not held on the original resolution, which had distinguished sponsorship and organizational support. But even as adopted, it undoubtedly speaks for the conscience of America. Nor can there be much doubt that the suggestion of relating disarmament to a program of economic expansion and social reconstruction, as suggested in the President's speech of April 16, makes a great deal of sense to a large section of the American people.

Those Crypto-Democrats

Scott McLeod, security officer for the State Department, has drawn considerable editorial fire for a letter to Norman Thomas explaining that "socialists," with a small "s," are disqualified for policy-making positions in the department. Mr. McLeod does not directly question their loyalty, but it is clear that he regards them as ideologically suspect.

While we disagree with Mr. McLeod's ruling we do not agree with those critics who feel that his use of the word "socialist" is unpardonably vague. Senator Butler made it quite evident, in a speech in the Senate on May 15, that this Administration places "socialists" in the same category as other "reds." The policy of the new Administration, he said, was to remove "socialists in ideology and purpose" from government service. Quoting Whittaker Chambers, the Senator went on to say

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that socialists always call themselves "liberals" but that they can be easily identified. They are the people who assume that government is good and business evil; that labor unions are good (with the C. I. O. better than the A. F. of L.), employers wicked; that the federal government is progressive, the states reactionary; that public ownership is better than private enterprise; that wages are good, profits sinful; that public welfare should replace private charity; and that the executive branch should be given more power, while the power of Congress and the courts should be curtailed.

This is the new Republican "party line," and like other lines of which we have heard it has its dupes and fellow-travelers who are now being caught in traps they helped to fashion. Only the other day Governor Thomas E. Dewey was called a "creeping socialist" when he suggested that the power potential of the Niagara River should be developed by the State of New York. "If this be creeping socialism," he said, "then it did its creeping forty years ago." *The Nation* has steadily insisted that the real effect of the loyalty program is to produce political conformity whatever the stated intention may be. That Socialists (large or small "s"), liberals, New Deal Democrats, and even "liberal" Republicans of the Dewey variety should find themselves ensnarled in ideological booby-traps of their own creation is not at all surprising to us; it was implicit in our premise.

What the Teachers Think

As reported in *The Nation* last week, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, in a speech before the Los Angeles Town Hall on July 21, wondered whether the real problem of education in Los Angeles was not that of "recapturing the schools from the crackpots." There might be people elsewhere as near the "fringe of lunacy," he continued, "but I know of no other community in which such people are allowed to run the schools." Evidence that Dr. Hutchins is not alone in his low regard for the Los Angeles Board of Education is found in an "educators' opinion inventory" conducted recently by Science Research Associated of Chicago under the auspices of the board. Given the rare opportunity to express, under conditions of "guaranteed anonymity," their candid views of the school system, some 13,867 teachers, principals, supervisors, and other certificated personnel —representing 86 per cent of the system's teaching staff—participated in the poll. Of these, 89 per cent thought that pressure groups have too much influence on the decisions of board members; 94 per cent thought the board should rely more on its professional staff; 75 per cent thought the board not "genuinely interested in our welfare"; 76 per cent said the elected officials ignore teachers' suggestions and complaints and do not exercise their authority in the teachers' behalf. Only 39 per cent believed the board truly interested in improving the educational program.

On the basis of 85,000 written comments the conclusion was drawn that "while the community is justifiably concerned lest the Los Angeles city schools be used to teach communistic or socialistic doctrines, educators feel that these well-meant efforts have now overshot their goal and have reached a point where many teachers feel inhibited in discussing any controversial topics in class." Only 56 per cent of the teachers felt they could discuss controversial subjects in the classroom, even if their presentation was "factual and objective."

The survey confirms the opinion of many citizens.

Appearance of Apathy

"The cease-fire in Korea," reported the New York *Times* of July 28, "had little visible effect yesterday on the people of New York. There was no organized public demonstration, either to celebrate or to give thanks. The mood appeared to be one of apathy." At almost the same hour that the truce was announced residents of New York began to form lines to purchase shiny new 15-cent tokens—an increase of 50 per cent in subway fares. The press reported, with an air of surprise, that the people accepted the increase "without protest" and with no "visible" signs of dissatisfaction. That same day, however, subway riders were heard to comment on the press comment on their apathy: "What did they expect us to do—walk to work, toss a bomb? Protest—to whom? To Tom Dewey? To Impellitteri?"

Fair questions. What good would it have done in either case for the people to demonstrate "visibly" what they felt? Behind the appearance of apathy is a feeling of having lost control of the movement of events. But the people are not apathetic; they are cynical. Like shipwrecked passengers on a raft, they may seem "apathetic"; but what they need is a sail, a pair of oars, the tools of action. Their appearance of indifference reflects their lack of confidence in any leadership now "visible" on the political horizon.

The Do-Little Congress

IT IS a very strange session that the Republican Congress is just finishing. Strange, not because the Congress did things no one expected it to do—for it did not—but because it has been proceeding in two directions at the same time. Its progress has therefore been limited, which is to say that it can point to hardly any concrete or positive accomplishments.

To be sure, it has passed the necessary appropriations measures so that the government can go on functioning. It has turned the vast offshore oil properties over to private exploitation, moved to unload the valuable

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synthetic-rubber plants, and delighted the power lobby by hamstringing reclamation and public power. But part of this is simply the irreducible minimum of ordinary housekeeping and the rest is achievement of a strictly negative kind.

Of an actual program, handled as one might suppose a party would handle its program upon returning to power after twenty years in the wilderness, there has been almost nothing. Most of the positive projects mentioned in campaign oratory and specifically requested by the President—revision of Taft-Hartley, extension of Social Security, tax revision, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, evolution of new policies respecting foreign trade and foreign aid, general revision of farm price-support laws, repudiation of the Yalta agreement—have in effect been postponed for consideration at the next session.

AND YET THIS same Congress has actually taken long and important strides in an extremely unwelcome direction. More than any other in years, it has moved to reassert Congressional direction of the executive branch of the government. Essentially, this Congress has been as much out from under Administration control as was the Eightieth Congress itself—despite the fact that not since the spring of 1933 has any President been in as good a position as President Eisenhower to assert his independence of Congress.

The situation is most obviously symbolized by what has been happening to the State Department. During the final years of President Truman's Administration the State Department was made impotent, the prisoner of its critics on Capitol Hill, particularly of its most energetic and unrestrained critics. Since in the present condition of the world we need above all things a vigorous, effective State Department, that fact in itself might have been reason enough for a thoughtful American to vote for a new Administration last fall.

But the State Department today, after six months of Republican rule, is in precisely the same fix as under Acheson. Congress still breathes down the back of its neck. The Senate calls the shots, and what is more, those members of the Senate who seem least likely to want the great international objectives to which the President is committed. With international problems of incalculable import coming up for decision, and with the international situation turned amazingly fluid so that flexibility in our foreign policy is essential, the State Department today is tied to a rigid Senatorial control. What America does in the next two years is likely to be determined not so much by what President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles believes to be best as by what a few Senators are prepared to indorse.

Nor is that all. With a whole political generation grown old in the opposition, Republican leaders in Congress have become set in their ways, and have developed a preternaturally acute suspicion of anything resembling leadership by the executive branch and a habit of mind which elevates penny-pinching to a primary article of political faith. These men are now in control. All but literally, they hark back to the era of Calvin Coolidge. The tremendous issues confronting the Administration—foreign aid, the proper level of armament, development of the country's basic resources—shrink to one simple question: Where and how can we best save a little money? President Eisenhower may have won a landslide election because his fellow-citizens believed that he better than anyone else could guide us through an uncommonly complex and dangerous period; in the end, what he plans to do has to be funneled through men like John Taber, who is precisely where and what he was when Franklin D. Roosevelt was President.

For many years these men preached a dual gospel: reduce taxes and balance the budget, and all will be well. (The fact that in the present situation the two things simply cannot be done together is just an irrelevancy.) The Tabers and the Reeds are not merely obstacles for the President to plow around as best he can; they are coming fairly close to telling him what he can and cannot do. By one of the great oddities of modern politics President Eisenhower's program would go down the drain almost in toto if the Democrats did not so frequently come to his rescue. For the Republican Party is split just as ruinously as the Democratic Party was split during the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations, and this session has brought the division into the open.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE, of course, for the President to assert himself. As Elmer Davis recalls in the current issue of *Harper's*, Woodrow Wilson long ago drew attention to the fact that the Constitution permits the President of the United States to be as big a man as he wants to be. But despite the applause of the journalistic claque which periodically announces that the "real Eisenhower" is about to unveil himself, there is to date no very good sign that he wants to seize the reins.

Furthermore, he has let himself get maneuvered into a very bad box. Wrapping up all the hot potatoes for further study and for disposal by the next session of Congress may have been a good way to avoid turmoil during the past six months, but it is not going to make for a pleasant, harmonious, and productive time next winter and spring. What Congress does then will be done on the very eve of an election. If it was hard three months ago to face up to the need for recommending and pushing through a decent revision of the Taft-Hartley act, for example, it will be about six times as hard in the next session.

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New currents are beginning to be manifest. There are various little signs that unrestrained McCarthyism is at last generating a flare-back. Specifically, the attack on the Protestant clergy has touched off extensive repercussions. We may finally be approaching the time when it will not be good politics to accuse just anybody and everybody of being in bed with the Communists. If the antics of the Congressional investigators during the past six months have actually started a Bible-belt reaction, an unpredictable factor of the first magnitude may enter American politics.

However that may be, the basic fact remains: the present Congress has done very little that is constructive, but it has definitely thrown its weight around. It has asserted its own overriding authority over the executive branch; and the time to answer that assertion effectively was before it was made. Congressional committees have reached out for more and more power. Increasingly they have taken on the function, not merely of saying what the government is to do, but of calling the signals on how it is to do it and just what individuals it may do it with. Historically, that has never made for good government or good times in this country. President Eisenhower can still reverse the trend, but he cannot do it by sacrificing everything to an appearance of party harmony.

SETTLEMENT IN ASIA

What the British Want . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

THE Korean truce has ended the fighting but not the war. Chinese, Korean, and United Nations soldiers—chiefly Americans—will no longer be killed in Korea; the tormented people north and south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel will cease, for the time being at least, to serve as targets for artillery or napalm bombs. Nothing definable will have been accomplished by the war. The Communists will have discovered that America can resolutely meet violence with counter-violence; the Americans that the Communists cannot be driven out of their own mountain country provided they can obtain supplies from over the border. The truce is a recognition that the war was a stalemate.

Humanity will applaud the easing of tension and the truce to killing. But Mr. Churchill must be reminded that a "better atmosphere" is not enough. For the one thing on which Koreans are united is the desire for unity, and that is what the truce will seem to deny them. While the powers have been fighting for their own interests or for the principle of resistance to aggression or to win a round in the cold war—all possible interpretations of a complexity of motives—the North Koreans have been fighting for a united Communist country and the South for a united capitalist one. A guaranteed Thirty-eighth Parallel will seem to most Koreans an absurdity. The best we can hope is to persuade them to respect this line as the price of ending the war and to persuade them to continue their ideological struggle without murdering each other.

Let us remember that it is dangerous to allow a cease-fire line to harden into a frontier. The United Nations has considerable experience. Its part, for instance, in Kashmir, Palestine, and Korea has been patiently to isolate the dispute so that fighting ceased. In the case of Kashmir and Palestine it failed to have any effect beyond helping to settle the cease-fire line. Today it is clear that India and Pakistan cannot indefinitely endure the tension of indecision in Kashmir, while the relations between Israel and its neighbors remain dangerously bitter on a frontier that was never intended to do more than recognize a temporary *fait accompli*.

The best chance is for the United Nations immediately after the truce to work hard to persuade both sides to recognize their common economic interests. In the case of Korea, where the country is devastated and the people reduced to utter misery, the business of peacemaking is surely to attempt to find leaders among the North and South Koreans who will work together with a United Nations Committee of Rehabilitation—which it is to be hoped will represent both capitalist and Communist members. For this purpose America must deal firmly with Syngman Rhee, and in return the Chinese should be asked to cooperate and to instruct North Korean Communists to cooperate in rebuilding plans that straddle the Parallel. If that happens it should be possible to persuade both the Chinese and the Americans gradually to withdraw their troops. But we must face the fact that Korea will long remain a danger spot unless from the beginning the United Nations can at least lay down the basis of a program for eventual political collaboration between North and South.

ANY HOPE of such a program depends, of course, as all peace moves in the Pacific do, on the recognition of Peking China as a member of the United Nations. Britain has from the beginning recognized the fact of Mao Tse-tung's victory, and one of the remarkable results of the Commonwealth conference which accompanied the Coronation pageantry was the discovery that within the Commonwealth there is broad agreement on Far Eastern policy.

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The new Pakistan Premier favors Mao Tse-tung's entry into the United Nations; Mr. Menzies—and with him, no doubt, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who appears to live mainly in a state of loyal ecstasy—seems cautiously prepared for the same step; while the Prime Minister of Canada has spoken about the need of accepting the fact of Asian nationalism in terms not far different from those of Mr. Nehru. As for the United States, Mr. Eisenhower's promise to the Senate to lead the campaign against China's admission seems far from decisive. If America really intended to rule out the possibility of changing its mind on Peking's admission, Mr. Eisenhower would presumably have spoken of an American "veto." In any case the more quickly and graciously Mao Tse-tung is welcomed the better the chance for peace.

One corollary Britain must draw is that trade would flow freely between China and the West. Not only the much-abused left but the commercial, shipping, and insurance worlds are all chafing at the American-Formosan blockade of the China coast. No doubt the British have interested motives—just as no doubt American business has equally interested motives in seeing British ships prevented from trading with China. If we disregard these motives the fact remains that peace with China involves trade with China, that there is good reason to believe that Peking desires to maintain its Western commerce, and does not wish to become wholly dependent on the Soviet Union for its vast plans of development—even if the Soviet Union were able fully to supply China's needs. Clearly Britain should insist on annulling the U. N. resolution branding China as an aggressor and should at once begin trade negotiations with Peking.

THE MOST THORNY of those political issues "arising out of the Korean war" with which the forthcoming political conference must take account is the future of Formosa. Historically and geographically and by great-power agreements at Cairo, Potsdam, and San Francisco, Formosa belongs to China. The only argument against allowing Formosa to be handed over to Peking is that Communist China, having driven Chiang and his military staff off the mainland and suffered numerous threats since of renewed Kuomintang invasion, may now be in a mood to cut the throats of the Formosan exiles. To this the United Nations answer must surely be that Chiang and his close associates can find places of refuge with the rest of the exiled Kuomintang leaders and that Formosa itself must go back to Peking China as soon as the move becomes politically and diplomatically possible. The first steps, therefore, are public reaffirmation of Peking's right to Formosa and the withdrawal of America's subsidy to all Kuomintang troops.

Perhaps the United Nations might use some such technique as that which proved successful in dealing with the technical problem of ending the war between the Dutch and the Indonesians. In that case the appointment of an Australian (selected by the Indonesians) and a Belgian (chosen by the Dutch), with the right to co-opt a third member of the commission, proved a good technique for dealing with a host of awkward problems in a country recently at war. Formosa presents even more difficulties. But if the United Nations makes it clear that Formosa is to be returned to Mao Tse-tung, China has every reason to accept as reasonable a period of waiting while the soldiers are absorbed in other occupations and those who desire refuge are accommodated elsewhere. An early and useful part of this liquidation of Formosa as a base would be the swift withdrawal of the Kuomintang troops which now threaten the security of Burma.

If all this were actually accomplished it would be much, very much. Peace, even in the limited sense of winding up the cold war in the Pacific, would still be far off. Some even see a Korean truce as the beginning of further dangers; certainly the China Lobby hopes that ending the war in Korea may make possible more aid to the French in Indo-China and speedier rearmament in Japan. Peace clearly involves abandoning such schemes, just as it certainly depends on China abandoning an aggressive attitude (which is present in its propaganda if not in its actions) toward its neighbors in the East. In Malaya nationalism is a complex issue and no government exists to which the British, even if they are willing to forgo the dollar value of rubber and tin, can as yet pass over their authority. But it would be reasonable for other powers to urge upon Britain a swifter approach toward turning Malaya into a self-governing country. It is even more obvious and more important that the powers should aid those now very large forces in France which regret the French effort to reimpose its imperial rule in Indo-China.

CLEARLY we are now envisaging results that are unlikely to be obtained unless there has been a prior agreement involving all the great powers. Such an agreement necessitates a change in policy and in propaganda; the Voice of America, confining itself to news and the support of capitalism, would have to end its threats of war against communism, and Peking and Moscow, while necessarily urging the benefits of communism and stressing the inner contradictions of capitalism, would have to cease supporting militant activities against their neighbors.

All this is impossible? Unlikely, no doubt, now that the world is deep in the quagmire. But we shall not struggle out either by being satisfied with a little "tension-easing" or by idealistic pretenses that the difficulties can be solved by some sudden gesture. The reality is that confronted with the desperate damages of a world atomic war, the powers may still, stage by stage, enter upon this process of "disengagement," reducing, not abolishing, their armaments, removing frictions, rather than agreeing on solutions, and seeking by a change of tactics to reduce the chances of catastrophe. Above all—and here I think Britain has a special part to play between the ideologically obsessed nations, East and West—let us abandon silly talk about the Communist world having "a change of heart." The Communists cannot change their belief that capitalism is in decay and that communism is to be the eventual form of world government. But they can—and quite conceivably they are already in process of attempting the experiment—change their aggressive policy on the ground that it is too risky. In that case they will make concessions so long as they are neither humiliating nor vital to their security. We and the West have a right to ask such a change of policy of them, and they, in the interest of man's survival, have the right to expect us to meet them "at least halfway."

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Variations on Point Four

Geneva

AS EVERY year, an undesirable visitor made its appearance in the Economic and Social Council—hunger. It is not necessary to dramatize things or become emotional; figures alone are quite capable of telling the story. Though a long one, it can be summarized in few words: in a changing world one of the indisputably stable facts is human misery. A permanent cause of war, it mocks all the windy declamations about progress and humanitarianism. During the discussions of the report of the Technical Assistance Board the full truth came out: in spite of undeniable efforts and impressive accomplishments, the underdeveloped countries are becoming poorer every year. Even the raw materials they produce are subject to the arbitrary rules of a game whose stakes are the profits of a few privileged nations. While 10 per cent of the world's population are in a position to satisfy most of their daily needs and to live on a higher economic level than a few decades ago, 90 per cent are as badly off as in the thirties. In the United States $150 a week may not be considered an extravagant salary, but a third of the people of the world get less than $150 a year. Though it has been said a hundred times, let us say it the hundred and first: in this situation the Communists need do little to encourage revolt; misery does it for them.

This applies not only to the countries officially characterized as underdeveloped. While Geneva was discussing the report of the Technical Assistance Board, the Vigorelli parliamentary report was published in Rome. It revealed that of Italy's 11,592,000 families, 1,357,000, or 11.2 per cent, exist in conditions of extreme want "at the lowest level of life." Almost one-fourth of the population is inadequately housed; 92,000 families live in barracks or caves. Some 869,000 families, or 7.5 per cent, live without meat, sugar, or wine. And this is nothing to what a similar investigation would uncover in Spain.

It was natural that in such a world President Truman's Point Four should have been greeted with immense enthusiasm. But in the four years that have followed the great pronouncement, armies and atom bombs have swallowed most of the money that Point Four required to become more than a propaganda gesture against the Russians. The Technical Assistance report shows that funds for the U. N. program are also at low ebb and, as reported in these pages last week, threatened with further, crippling cuts.

It is to the credit of the officials in charge of the program that so much has been achieved with so little. As in the case of the U. N.'s Children's Fund and the World Health Organization, they have shown what the specialized agencies are capable of doing. According to the report, the number of fellowships and scholarships awarded increased from 845 in 1950-51 to 2,127 in 1953; the number of experts sent into the field went up from 797 to 1,626 and is expected to reach 2,529 this year. But much more money is required if the program is not to be curtailed.

THIS urgent need was seized upon and made the basis of a very clever move by the Russians and the other countries of the Soviet bloc represented here. To the surprise and discomfort of certain delegates the Russians promised to contribute $1,000,000 to the Technical Assistance fund. Listening to their statements I recalled a caustic comment of the chief American delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., last February in New York. Mr. Lodge noted "the absence of a number of governments who usually speak so loudly of their interest in assisting the underdeveloped countries and who are strangely silent when the chance arises actually of doing something useful." But now that the Russians are on hand and have spoken, we read reports from New York that the U. N. is "wary of the Reds' money" and that "the philanthropic arm of the peace offensive" has "left the United States grateful but skeptical."

I am in a position to dispel both anxiety and skepticism. At this very moment the Russians are conducting informal negotiations in the corridors with a view to joining other agencies of the United Nations. As readers of *The Nation* may recall, some weeks ago I reported that the Kremlin had decided to shift to the United Nations a large part of its diplomatic activity. This is being done by stages. First the Russians wanted to strengthen their position within the organization itself. This was partly accomplished during the last Assembly when on several occasions they were able to obtain a far greater number of votes for their resolutions than in previous years. The "automatic American majority" of everybody to five became a thing of the past.

Under the new circumstances the United Nations offers a useful and promising field of diplomatic maneuver for Russia and its associates. If hostile diplomatic action should isolate them in other fields, in a Big Four conference for instance, they will always have at their disposal the "world forum" of the U. N. But it is particularly through the agencies engaged in constructive work that they now hope to improve their position. The speech of Mr. Katz-Suchy of Poland on July 17 asserting that large-scale development plans could never be carried out so long as the economies of the backward countries were tied to fluctuations in the world market, and the proposals by him and Mr. Arutiunian that a positive policy of economic development be formulated, show that they are definitely committed to an active role in the specialized agencies. The idea of Russian technicians going into the underdeveloped areas may not be very attractive to some countries, but, popular or not, this new role is being undertaken with great confidence, and a lot will be heard about it in the months to come.

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PROTESTANTS UNDER FIRE

Indignant and Aroused . . . *by Malcolm Evans*

TOO often the American Protestant church has played the role of a knight in tarnished armor who rides into the gathering darkness bearing a blunted spear and a shield emblazoned with the motto "Come weal or come woe, my status is quo." Hardly more than a corporal's guard of laymen and clergy has rallied around him unless "the enemy" was materialism, secularism, communism, or Romanism, the four favorite objects of pulpit assault; only here and there have prophetic voices been raised against recrudescent fascism, McCarthyism, McCarranism, and so on. All this has now been changed. Clergymen and laymen of all theological persuasions have leaped into the fray against current threats to the Protestant position, awakened by the assaults of witch-hunters in and out of Congress on highly respected Protestant leaders.

Protestants were first aroused when Representative Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, suggested in a television appearance on March 9 that the clergy might offer a fertile field for investigation. He was thoroughly rebuked in numerous editorial statements and even by a vote of his own committee. One of his critics was Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. It is worth noting that Bishop Oxnam had only recently been transferred to Washington—in itself an indication of the increasing recognition in Protestant circles of the importance of having an able spokesman in the nation's capital. The significance of the transfer was doubtless pointed out to Velde.

Three days after Velde's TV show, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., introduced a resolution calling for Velde's removal as committee chairman. The resolution was blocked by the Rules Committee, and on March 17 Velde received another assist from Representative Donald L. Jackson of California, who denounced Bishop Oxnam on the House floor as a man who "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week." The Washington *Post* countered by obtaining and publishing the committee's Oxnam dossier along with the Bishop's comments on the entries.

Meanwhile Herbert A. Philbrick, for nine years in the Communist "underground" as an agent for the F. B. I., had testified before Senator Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee that he had known seven or eight "hardened, disciplined, and steeled" Communists who posed as clergymen in the Boston area and that five of them were still preaching and aiding the party there.

On April 22 Oxnam talked privately with Velde and afterward characterized their conference as hardly "a meeting of minds." Velde agreed to consider specific recommendations for reform of the committee's procedures but later rejected them. The Bishop then blasted the committee again. The skirmish reached a climax on July 21, when the Bishop appeared before the committee. At the close of the hearing, which proceeded far into the night, the committee unanimously reported that it had "no record of any Communist Party membership or affiliation by Bishop Oxnam." On the issue of whether he had "served the Communist front" there was no vote. Moreover, by a straight party vote a motion to correct the Bishop's file by entering his denials was defeated.

Yet despite his own vigorous protests and the overwhelming backing given him by religious leaders and laity in all the major denominations and Jewish groups, the Bishop is still not "cleared" and is not likely to be unless he repents of the mortal sin of daring to expose the committee's un-American procedures. Judging from his words at the hearing, that can hardly be expected. Said Oxnam: "The preparation and publication of these files puts into the hands of irresponsible individuals and agencies a wicked tool. It gives rise to a new and vicious expression of Ku-Kluxism, in which an innocent person may be beaten by unknown assailants who are cloaked in anonymity and at times immunity, whose whips are cleverly constructed lists of so-called subversive organizations, and whose floggings appear all too often to be sadistic in spirit rather than patriotic in purpose."

THE ATTACK on Oxnam is not the only serious one directed recently against Protestant leaders of high standing. In March, Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, formerly president of Wellesley College and war-time commander of the WAVES, now vice-president of the National Council of Churches, an organization supported by thirty of America's principal denominations with over 32,000,000 members, was denied a place on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and chairman of the National Council of Churches Commission on the Maintenance of American Freedom, was smeared by the Velde group for having been a sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; that he sponsored the Congress in 1942 while Russia was our ally the committee omitted to state. Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., was attacked in two articles by Dr. J. B. Matthews in the May and July issues of the *American Mercury*, along with others whose names read like a Who's Who of Protestant clergy and educators. Matthews was recently forced from his position as executive staff director of Senator McCarthy's Investigating Subcommittee after President Eisenhower, without naming him, had

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MALCOLM EVANS, pastor of Spencer Memorial Church in Brooklyn, is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This is the third and last of a series of articles on Protestant policy.

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lashed out against Matthews's allegation that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Matthews claimed that at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen were Communist "party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents, and unwitting dupes."

WHAT DOES THIS campaign against Protestant leaders mean? In attacking Bishop Oxnam, Bishop Sherrill, Mrs. Horton, and Dr. Mackay the witch-hunters are not exposing Communists or fellow-travelers. The unalterable opposition of all four to communism is a matter of public record. The inquisitors are rather intent on knocking off four persons who occupy positions of considerable influence at policy-making levels in their respective churches and in the National Council and who are passionately dedicated to the cause of human freedom and the eradication of injustice.

While criticism of clergymen as such is nothing new, onslaughts originating in Congress are without precedent in this country. There is much to fear in such attacks; nevertheless, Velde and McCarthy unwittingly performed a real service when they disregarded the maxim to "let sleeping dogs lie." Had they not gone so far in their mad scramble for headlines they could have pursued their witch-hunting virtually unchecked. But Velde in the case of Oxnam and McCarthy in the Matthews affair overreached themselves. They not only awakened the Protestant clergy but goaded Southern Democrats into action.

It is important to note the sources of support for the attacks on Protestant leaders. The chief non-Congressional advocate of investigation, as might be expected, is Dr. Carl McIntire, pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, New Jersey. Unfrocked by the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., McIntire in 1933 set out on a ministry of disruption. Having done all in his power to discredit the Federal Council of Churches and its successor, the National Council, and also the World Council of Churches, by setting up rival bodies, he recently published a twenty-three-page pamphlet characterizing Bishop Oxnam as a "prophet of Marx" and is circulating petitions calling for an investigation of communism among churchmen. McIntire has been joined by such figures as Dr. W. W. Breckbill, president of the divisive American Council of Christian Churches—a group McIntire was instrumental in founding, recently repudiated by the Evangelical Methodist Church—and Dr. William H. Bordeaux, general secretary of the American Council, who has aided Allen Zoll in his attack upon the public schools. For the record it should be noted that J. B. Matthews did research for Zoll in 1949, helping him compile the pamphlet "How Red is the Federal [National] Council of Churches?" Two articles by Ralph L. Roy in the *Christian Century* (May 8 and May 15) fully document this phase of the attack on the churches. A brochure entitled "Plain Facts on the National Council of Churches," spelling out the attack by McIntire and his fellows, may be obtained by writing Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York.

While McIntire's attack has received little support from churchmen generally, Monsignor Francis Walsh suggested in a sermon at St. Patrick's Cathedral that communism is a by-product of the Protestant Reformation. Some Protestant journals, among them *Christianity and Crisis,* while deploring the attack on Bishop Oxnam, have conceded the right of Congress to investigate the clergy. The *Christian Century* (April 22) was more representative of Protestant opinion: "The churches should be as reluctant to invite the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate their ministers as any decent man would be to invite the town bully to probe his relations with his own family."

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

The Files Collapsed

HOW BEST can Protestant churchmen meet the present unwarranted assaults? The Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of New York Cathedral (Episcopal), gave a good answer when he suggested in a cathedral sermon, "They can of course quite properly protest the un-American character of [the committee's] procedures, its trial by press and television, its reversal of the principle that a man is innocent until proved guilty. But important as this approach is, it is negative. A positive counter-assault should be launched."

The smearers could not now single out the Oxnams, Sherrills, Hortons, and Mackays for abuse had we, as Protestants, not failed in recent years to push the social applications of our faith. We have left in an exposed position the few who have stressed the fundamental Protestant tenet that the Lordship of Christ extends to every area of life. We have allowed fear of reprisals from within and fear of communism from within and without to shackle us. As Dean Pike declares, "Let the church rise to its responsibilities to bring a critique on unrighteous conditions in our land, and we will demonstrate that there is a healthy ferment that is by no means communistic and in fact is the best defense against communism. We will thus surround our brethren who are being smeared . . . that there will be confusion in the smearers' camps . . . for they will know that they cannot investigate us all, and if they try to smear us all they will be made ridiculous in the public eye."

The time has come when we must push the social implications of the Gospel and push them hard. The fruits of theological inquiry and understanding of the facts of history have cleared the ground for an orthodoxy which affirms that precisely because we take the Gospel seriously we dare not dodge its social imperatives. Such an orthodoxy must inevitably lead us to obey the social message of our faith in such a way that "this nation [and this world] under God will have a new birth of freedom."

How, then, can Protestant social pronouncements be implemented more

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effectively? On the national scene greater effort must be expended in building unity and cooperation in all areas of Protestant endeavor. It would be wrong to attempt to defend ourselves by purging our councils of controversial personalities. We need more leaders who will say simply with Dr. Mackay, "I have never supported any cause which on its own merits was unworthy of support by an independent Christian citizen of this country who is sensitive to human situations. If in any instance Communists, unknown to me and for their own reasons, were interested in the same cause, that does not invalidate the importance of the cause, nor does it make me responsible for any casual coincidence in my interest and theirs."

A PRINCIPAL reason for the failure to implement Protestant social policy is the gulf between decisions at the national level and study and action at the grass roots. Seldom do rank-and-file church members even hear about the social-policy pronouncements of denominational conferences. Basically the minister is at fault. He may have few opportunities in the Sunday-worship service to grapple with social issues, but he can see to it that they are included in the church's educational program from kindergarten to adult instruction. He can also establish a social-education-and-action committee in which independent thought and free discussion will foster a sense of social responsibility.

Above all, the local minister must weld isolated individuals into a "fellowship of the concerned," a community willing to attempt translation of social creeds into social deeds. No church fellowship can demonstrate its "concern" solely within church walls. It must be closely involved in the community it serves. The time has come for a more thorough study of ways and means of inaugurating community action. Such explorations, aided but not limited by local interdenominational councils, would bring together clergymen and church laymen and even non-church community leaders interested in discussing local applications of Protestant social policy.

No clergyman can spend any time in a parish without realizing how many of the "faithful" have never accepted the view that the rule of God over men proclaimed by authentic Christianity embraces all aspects of human existence —not only individual and spiritual but also political, social, and economic. Their faith is a narrow, individualistic interpretation of the Christian religion. They do not realize that every social system is subject to divine judgment and that no institution of society, church, or state is exempt from criticism. Ignorance, fear, threats, and ambiguities inhibit social impulses.

Now is the time to rise above fear and ignorance and to press beyond threats and ambiguities in carrying out the social implications of Protestantism as derived from the Gospel. Let us launch a positive counter-assault against the forces and conditions which breed tyranny "whatever mask it wears."

MONRONEY OF OKLAHOMA

Bad Medicine for McCarthy . . *by George Milburn*

IT LOOKED as if the United States Senate had been altogether buffaloed. When that august assemblage reconvened for the Eighty-third Congress last January, only one man was still in there to fight creeping McCarthyism—the venerable junior Senator from New York, Herbert H. Lehman. Meanwhile Wisconsin had returned the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy himself by a decisive, not to say resounding, vote.

A cynic once observed that the main objectives of a United States Senator are to pass his water and stay in the United States Senate. However that may be, brave and honest men sometimes get seated in that exalted chamber. Senator Lehman is such a man. Even though the hustings were strewn with grisly exhibits of what had happened to men who got up and opposed McCarthy, the aging liberal chose to keep meeting the challenge single-handed and head-on. His pious colleagues, some of whom were expressing their private opinions of McCarthy in such unprintable language that there was no need to declare it off the record, were content to sit back and watch Lehman go it alone against the powerful pettifogger.

All of a sudden, just as Lehman seemed to be losing his fight, he was championed by a younger Senator whose name was strange to most newspaper readers and TV viewers across the land. Washington commentators, out of their sagacity, wrote that Senator Lehman's help had come from a most unexpected source. But no person who has followed the political career of Mike Monroney from Oklahoma was at all surprised. His continuing attack on McCarthy which began the other day was just the sort of deliberate and forthright action that could be expected of him, once he had thought it through.

When reporters asked him why he had waited so long to join forces with Senator Lehman, the lank, six-foot Okie toed the floor with all the diffidence of a baseball player who has just busted the R. B. I. record. You would have thought he was about to say, "Gee whiz!" But what Mike Monroney actually did say on the transcript was: "Now look, fellas. It's like walking up to a man who's got a handful of stink bombs. And you've got on your good suit. So he flips that stink bomb at you, and you don't like the odor."

GEORGE MILBURN, one of Oklahoma's most distinguished native sons, is the author of "Oklahoma Town," "No More Trumpets," and other books.

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Never a headline hunter, a painfully shy man for a politician, in fact, Mike Monroney takes his responsibilities as a United States Senator so seriously that he seldom cuts loose with the salty wit which is his natural endowment. When he got fed to the craw on the chicaneries and indecencies of McCarthyism he could not sleep. At dawn one Monday morning he got out of bed and drove to the Senate office building, where he spent several hours batting out a speech with the hunt-and-peck system of a seasoned newspaperman. He delivered his speech on the floor of the Senate that afternoon, and it splashed front pages all across the country.

It would seem to me that the book-burning incident has done far more harm than good in foreign countries. It has made us look ridiculous to the Europeans because the techniques employed are so reminiscent of the totalitarian governments and their thought control which we so despise. Surely in such a sensitive area, such books which might have been dangerous could have been quietly removed instead of by the "Keystone cop" chase of Messrs. Cohn and Schine across all Europe.

McCarthy waited for a week before he came back with the anguished beller of a bully who has been beaten. In the closing moments of a radio-TV broadcast Sunday night he charged Monroney with "a flagrant example of anti-Semitism." Perhaps it is significant that morning newspapers left this salacious tidbit out of their column-length coverage of the McCarthy interview. But the New York *Post* broke the story the following afternoon, and the same day Senator Lehman rose in the Senate to retort:

In a telecast yesterday the junior Senator from Wisconsin made the accusation that recent criticism by the junior Senator from Oklahoma . . . directed against the two staff members of the McCarthy investigating committee, Mr. Roy Cohn and Mr. David Schine, constituted a flagrant example of anti-Semitism. . . . This is a wholly false and ridiculous charge. . . . I—a Jew, sensitive to any religious bias—have been strongly critical of the behavior of these young men. . . . To brand criticism of them as "anti-Semitism" is pure and arrant demagoguery, raising an ugly symbol in defense of indefensible conduct. As for the junior Senator from Oklahoma, it is unnecessary for me to absolve him of this cheap charge. Yet I cannot forbear from affirmatively attesting that he is one of the fine characters of the Senate, free of bias, hate, and prejudice—a gentleman of understanding and of courage.

Senator Monroney

An alert reader of the New York *Post,* with laudable knowledge of motion-picture lore, wrote in to suggest that maybe what McCarthy really meant was "anti-Sennettism."

But it is no laughing matter that thousands of people were impressed by the foul blow while only a few know much about Monroney. Mike is probably the only man in the United States Senate with enough sense of humor to read into the *Congressional Record* what he called his "pan mail," after his attack on McCarthy. These are revealing documents, and it is worthy of comment that most of them were anonymous and bore postmarks of the enlightened Eastern seaboard rather than of his own "Grapes of Wrath" bailiwick. Here are some samples, as quoted by Monroney:

My favorite billet-doux is from a lady signing herself Mrs. Mary Thomas, Garden City, N. Y. It reads: "Having helped the ministers to crucify McCarthy—move over for Molotov."

This letter was postmarked in Brooklyn: "Drop dead, you lousy S.O.B. You have the blood of 300,000 American boys dripping from your stinking hands. You are a murderer and a traitor. Read this, fall dead." (Laughter from the Senate was indicated at this point).

Another letter, unsigned, comes from Norwalk, Connecticut. It reads: "Why don't you shut your big mouth—McCarthy is right—I only hope he gets you by the (obscenity) and you can bet he will." (More Laughter)

Later Senator Monroney inserted into the appendix of the *Record* a couple of friendly editorials from small-town Oklahoma newspapers. But the pay-off came a few days later when the titular editor of the Tulsa *Tribune,* Dr. Richard Lloyd Jones, a venomous octogenarian, who has set himself up in Tulsa as a tanktown Colonel McCormick, came out with an editorial headed by an epigram fresh from "Bartlett's Quotations":

The passionate love of Right, the burning hate of Wrong.

We need STATESMEN. We need them desperately. Yet look at what the Democrats of Oklahoma call statesmen. . . . The Democratic Party recalled the great soldier who could have saved our sons and won the war.

. . . The Democratic Party of our state has sent to the Senate an affable gentleman by the name of Mike Monroney. We need STATESMEN, not affable fellows. MEN who are so passionately AMERICAN that their devotion to our Flag is not obscured by the narrow limitations of petty partisan obsessions.

Fortunately for Oklahoma and the nation, the folks up on the creek, who seldom see the Tulsa *Tribune,* are not quite so astigmatic as Dr. Jones, who spends his summers in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. They can recognize a statesman when they see one, and they have been sending Mike Monroney back to Congress, first to the House of Representatives, ever since 1939.

AND MIKE MONRONEY is about the most unlikely candidate for public office that could be found in a long day's march. He doesn't sport an elk's tooth on his watch fob, but he could wear a Phi Beta Kappa key if he were that kind of man. Born too late or too soon, he cannot claim to be a veteran of any war. Monroney played championship football in high school, but he distinguished himself in college by busting loose against the "fraternity" system at the University of Oklahoma.

He is a born newspaperman, even though fate has shoved him into the United States Senate. His story is a little like that corny yarn about the incipient violin virtuoso who got his fiddling finger caught in a door jamb. But that really happened to Mike Monroney, in a way.

Monroney distinguished himself as a political reporter on the Oklahoma City *News,* but his newspaper career

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was broken off by his having to take over the management of a furniture company in Oklahoma. Back in the halcyon days of 1928, Mike Monroney had a high old time running the joint. He wrote the funniest damn ads anyone in Oklahoma had ever seen.

Came 1929. The New Deal saved Mike Monroney from going bankrupt. He became a Believer then, but he was not elected to Congress until ten years later.

A news photographer new in New York tells this story about Monroney's first — unsuccessful — campaign for Congress: "I was workin' on the *News*, see, and I come to take his pitchure. He says he don't want his pitchure in no paper he's worked for—it wouldn't look right. Publicity or sumpim, he was worried about. So what comes next? This Monroney says that I can take his pitchure O. K. so long as I do it quiet like. So I get him backed off in a corner —and you know what happens? The damn flash bulb blowed up and everybody at the party come running over to see what happened."

Thus with the career of Senator Mike Monroney from Oklahoma. He is the kind of dogged Western fighter whose voting record may not always jibe with what some of the people back home may like but who can be counted on to act with courage and honesty in the United States Senate.

RESISTANCE IN ILLINOIS

Is the Tide Turning?

by R. Will Burnett and Henrietta DeBoer

Urbana, Ill.

THE successful fight against the Broyles bills in this central Illinois community of Champaign-Urbana should encourage all who had begun to despair of stopping the trend toward thought control. The first of the two bills introduced by Broyles in the Illinois Senate on February 20, 1953, S.B. 101, would have created a fifteen-member Seditious Activities Investigation Commission charged with the duty of investigating any activities of any "person . . . association . . . or society . . . which are suspected of being directed toward the overthrow of the government of the United States or the state of Illinois." The second, S.B. 102, would have made it a felony "for any person knowingly and wilfully to (a) commit . . . any act intended to overthrow or destroy . . . the constitutional form of the government of the United States, or of the state of Illinois . . . by revolution, force, violence, or other unlawful means; or (b) advocate, abet, advise, or teach by any means any person to commit, attempt to commit, or assist in the commission of any such act under such circumstances as to constitute a clear and present danger to the security of the United States, or the state of Illinois. . . ." The bill would have made it a felony for a person knowingly to remain a member of a "subversive" organization, punishable by a $5,000 fine or imprisonment of from one to five years. It would have outlawed "subversive" organizations in the state and charged an assistant attorney general with responsibility to submit to county grand juries information relating to the activities of Communist and other "subversive" organizations or persons. Various public officers, including the police, would have been called upon to supply him with information and assistance. All public employees would have been required to swear that they were not "subversive." Public agencies would have been called upon to discharge any person concerning whom there was "reasonable ground" to believe that he was "subversive."

IN THE BEGINNING these bills were expected to pass both houses by overwhelming majorities. Similar bills had passed both houses in the previous session but had been vetoed by Governor Stevenson. This time it was expected that Republican Governor William Stratton would sign promptly.

It was first realized that opposition to this year's bills was not entirely a lost cause when thirty-two representatives of Illinois organizations sought to speak against them at the Senate hearing on March 17. Among these organizations were chapters of the American Association of University Professors of the University of Illinois, Northwestern University, and Illinois Normal University; a committee representing 126 campus groups at the University of Chicago; the Illinois League of Women Voters; the Chicago Area Universalist-Unitarian Association; the American Jewish Congress; the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church; the Chicago Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; the Chicago Teachers Union; the Illinois Education Association; Hadassah; and the State Council of the C.I.O. Eight persons, chiefly representatives of veterans' organizations, appeared in behalf of the bills; no large non-veteran organization sent representatives to speak for them. Yet the Senate committee recommended passage.

The real fight began after the hearing. Opposition witnesses and spectators who had expected a rational discussion of the merits of the bills were shocked by the bullying tactics of some members of the committee. Five housewives from Champaign-Urbana, who watched from the galleries were moved to write a letter to local papers, copies of which

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were distributed to papers throughout the state. Opposition in the twin cities, seat of the University of Illinois, rapidly became articulate.

The Champaign-Urbana Peace Council held a luncheon at which Professor R. N. Sullivan of the Law School presented an analysis of the bills. The university chapter of the American Federation of Teachers asked for and received from the Twin City Federation of Labor a statement of opposition for presentation to the legislature. Three professors of the College of Education drafted a critical analysis of the bills which was signed by forty-seven persons, chiefly from the College of Education, and sent to the press and to members of the legislature. Finally, the student organization, WORLD, called a meeting of faculty, student, and community groups to coordinate local efforts against the bills. At this meeting the Champaign-Urbana Committee to Oppose the Broyles Bills was born.

THE FIRST THING the committee did was to announce a public meeting in Loyalty Hall of the McKinley Foundation (Presbyterian), at which Senator James W. Gray of East St. Louis, who led the opposition to the bills in the Senate, was guest speaker. Prominent members of the student body, the faculty, and the churches also spoke.

Other influential community leaders began to air their views. Henry P. Rusk, dean emeritus of the College of Agriculture, described by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* as "American as a prairie cornfield," said in an address to the Champaign Rotary, "I have enough faith in representative government to believe that if people who cherish the traditions that have made this country great will vigorously express their views, this bill will not pass unless amended so that it will be a positive rather than a negative force for the protection of human dignity and the preservation of a free America." Stewart Scott Cairns, chairman of the Mathematics Department, in a statement to the press urged all friends of the university to do their utmost to bring about the defeat of the Broyles bills. Subsequently in a radio debate with Norval Hodges, a local Legionnaire, Cairns called S.B. 102 "itself subversive, tending to overthrow a basic principle of American justice." A resolution signed by 283 Illinois mathematicians supported this position. The university senate, consisting of more than four hundred full professors, passed a resolution opposing the bills.

Local ministers joined in the fight. The Reverend Paul Burt, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church near the university campus, told his congregation he had "deep apprehension of the

evil consequences" of the Broyles bills if passed. The Reverend Dwight Enberg, pastor of the Church of the Brethren, told the press that the proposed legislation "seems to contribute to the mass psychosis which is leading directly to World War III." The Reverend Arnold Westwood, of the Urbana Unitarian Church, went to Springfield to testify against the bills. Others wrote letters of protest to legislators from this district.

A group of housewives living in a small-homes subdivision in Champaign, having heard about the Broyles bills through releases sent out by the League of Women Voters, studied the text and went to work. From their own funds they made 500 reprints of the bills and attached a letter which said in part, "Our form of government does not condemn an individual until he has been shown to be guilty by fair trial and due process of law. . . . If you are opposed to this bill as we are, please write today to your legislators." These were delivered to their neighbors.

Other evidence that the fight against the Broyles repressive legislation was not confined to persons connected with the University of Illinois was furnished by a radio program of the local League of Women Voters, broadcast over the university station, WILL. This was a panel discussion of the bills by a leading Champaign business man, a minister, a veteran, and a housewife. John J. Bresee, state's attorney of Champaign County, declared before the Rantoul Rotary Club that the bills would force applicants for state positions to prove their innocence before being employed, which would be contrary to the American tradition of presumptive innocence. His statement was circulated among all Illinois state's attorneys by the Committee to Oppose the Broyles Bills.

The press of the state was generally against the bills. The Chicago and Illinois bar associations were against them. Laird Bell, Harold W. Swift, and Edward L. Ryerson of Chicago were some of the business and professional leaders who insisted as in 1951 that the bills would "not fulfil their apparent intention but are unwise and dangerous."

PERHAPS the proponents of the bills overextended themselves. The swift and angry reaction of a conservative community like Champaign-Urbana testifies to the good sense and basic fairness of the American people at a time when politicians are trying to capitalize on anti-Communist hysteria. When Senator Meyer at the Senate hearing informed a witness that the purpose of the bills was not to prohibit full exploration of ideas but to prevent people from reaching the wrong conclusions, he outraged honest conservatives everywhere. When the Legion witness named the American Friends Service Committee and the Packinghouse Workers—and Senator Lottie Holman O'Neill threw in the "One Worlders"—as the kind of people these bills are designed to "get," the purposes of the proposed legislation were fully revealed.

The Broyles bills are dead today. Here in the Middle West it has been possible, at least for a time, to stem the movement toward thought control. The avalanche of mail that descended on members of the House and Senate and the Governor brought about the defeat of S.B. 101 and the drastic amendment of 102. Then, when the watered-down version of the latter passed both houses, Republican Governor Stratton, whose liberal record thus far has amazed everyone, vetoed it. A great victory for intellectual freedom has been won. Could it be the turning of the tide?

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BOOKS

Russia in Flux

RUSSIA: WHAT NEXT? By Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press. $3.

MALENKOV: STALIN'S SUCCESSOR. By Martin Ebon. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.75.

MALENKOV. By Robert Frazier. Lion Books. 25 cents.

THE KREMLIN VS. THE PEOPLE. By Robert Magidoff. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

CURRENT SOVIET POLICIES. Documentary Record. Frederick A. Praeger. $6.

By Mark Gayn

BEFORE me, as I write, lie some twenty recent books on the Soviet Union. Evidence of the vast interest in the subject, they are also a measure of our ignorance. For in most of them bias marches alongside emotion, and denunciation masquerades as analysis.

One of the very few happy exceptions is Isaac Deutscher's new study. A small book compared to his monumental biography of Stalin, "Russia: What Next?" is in a way another tour de force. For having turned his manuscript over to the printers only six weeks after Stalin's death, Mr. Deutscher in effect staked his professional reputation on the accuracy of his forecasts. Perhaps the best proof of his prophetic gifts is the fact that none of his predictions have yet been shown wrong, some have already come true, and the book remains as fresh, pertinent, and enlightening as it was back in April.

What distinguishes Mr. Deutscher from the vast majority of writers on Russia is that he deals with ideas. Where others report isolated events, he detects trends; where others hunt for intrigue and conspiracy, he probes for the basic political and economic forces which must in the end dictate the behavior of the leaders. The Soviet Union to him is decidedly not "the Kremlin" but an immense and complex political organism subject to the laws that govern the development of any society. Mr. Deutscher is not really interested in Malenkov the man, but he is profoundly interested in the organism and the laws.

HIS THESIS is briefly this. When Lenin and Trotsky brought Marxism to Russia they saw the Bolshevik revolution as part of an international revolutionary movement. Any day, they felt, the workers of Europe would rise, overthrow their capitalist masters, and join Russia in a united proletarian revolutionary front. Russia could survive only because it was a segment of this enormous front. It was some years before this notion was abandoned. "Lenin died at a moment when history had overtaken him," Mr. Deutscher argues. "His illness and death relieved him of the necessity of grappling with a dilemma which he might have found insoluble."

The original Leninist assumptions and attitudes thus had to be revised, and it fell to Stalin to become the spokesman and leader of the revisionists. The main political product of his work was isolation. Since the workers of the world were neither willing nor able to rise in arms, Soviet Russia had to survive alone.

Out of this isolation sprang strange

plants. One was the rapid growth of autocracy—which was already in evidence under Lenin and which, according to Mr. Deutscher, Lenin deplored. A revolutionary democracy of the 1917 model could not mobilize a peasant nation for an all-out industrial effort, nor did the Bolsheviks now command sufficient popular support. Another important product of this new isolationism was that Marxism, essentially a Western political theory, was superimposed on a non-congenial Oriental background. The Bolshevik Party, Mr. Deutscher maintains, had "to cut itself loose from the specifically Western tradition of Marxism. It had to lay itself open to the slow, persistent infiltration of native backwardness and barbarism, even while it struggled to defeat that backwardness and barbarism." Out of this came the incredible "primitive magic" of the Stalin era, which left such a heavy imprint on the methods of government, culture, diplomacy, and Stalin's own role.

Out of the Bolshevik isolationism—disguising itself as "socialism in one country"—came the cynical use of foreign Communist parties, and of the Comintern, to promote the Soviet Union's ends. Foreign revolutions could be, and were, sacrificed to prevent crises that might have endangered Russia. In 1948 Stalin told the Yugoslav Kardelj that he had tried to persuade Mao Tse-tung himself to dissolve his armies and collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek.

The autocracy, the Red magic, and the isolationism were all earmarks of the Stalin era. But there were others. Millions of peasants were taught to operate a lathe, and millions of new workers were taught labor discipline—often with a barbaric severity—and the better of them were given rewards that recreated a class society and made a mockery of socialism. However it was done, Russia was industrialized, and when the big test came in the summer of 1941, it withstood it.

BUT EVEN as the end of Lenin's era preceded his physical death, so did the end of Stalinism precede Stalin's decease. The enormous industrialization had changed the minds and *mores* of the Soviet people. The newly created literate class could be made to utter the

MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has first-hand knowledge of Russia and other Communist countries.

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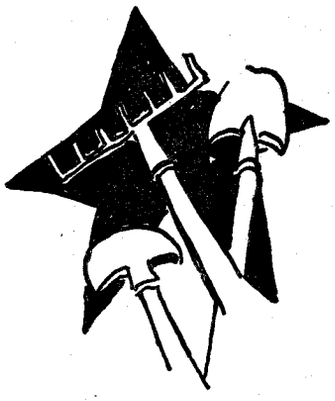

mumbo-jumbo of Stalinist black magic, but it could not be made to believe in it. The people had outgrown their framework of Stalinist politics, methods, and institutions. Just as importantly, while Stalin continued to talk of isolation, in fact the isolation had long ended, and communism was triumphant in a third of the entire globe. Last October, in what now appears to have been intended as his political testament, Stalin suggested isolation for this one-third of the globe, but that no longer made sense. Stalinism was dead in all but the name.

The men under Stalin have been aware of the profound changes at home and abroad, and Mr. Deutscher assumes that there has been a prolonged and furious debate in the Red inner councils which is not yet over. On the basis of Yugoslav testimony he believes Malenkov to be the leader of the faction that sees as its prime need a drastic change in the ways of Soviet life. In other words, the political structure and philosophy have to be modernized, to make them match the fact of Soviet industrialization. This is not an easy process, for there is opposition from the Stalinist diehards as well as from such vested interests as the secret police. Mr. Deutscher accurately forecasts the fall of Beria and the muzzling of the police by the party. Parenthetically, he also foresees a rise in the importance of the army, though he doubts a Bonapartist putsch.

But out of the need to concentrate attention on the momentous problem at home comes the anxiety to eliminate all causes of friction abroad—for years to come. Thus, again accurately, Mr. Deutscher forecasts the course of Moscow's "peace offensive" and the relaxation of Stalinist controls and methods in the satellite world.

American critics have dealt cruelly with Mr. Deutscher's book—some because his analysis has its roots in Marxist thought, others because he is an ex-Communist, still others because "dimly on a distant horizon" he sees Malenkov leading the Communist Party toward "democratic regeneration." In the reviews I have read, the critics have dealt with disjointed and minor areas of the book, without presenting the bone and muscle of Mr. Deutscher's theme. It is true, of course, that like all hasty books this one is not without flaws. There is an occasional startling reference to a dubious source; there are doubtful points and debatable arguments, certainly including the author's hope for "democratic regeneration" under communism. But, withal, Mr. Deutscher has produced a piece of original, well-reasoned, and supremely important thinking on the most significant topic of our day. It can only whet the reader's appetite for his forthcoming two-volume biography of Trotsky.

AFTER Mr. Deutscher's work nearly all other recent books seem mediocre. The two biographies of Malenkov have also been done in a hurry, but where Mr. Deutscher has provided depth, Mr. Ebon and Mr. Frazier lack it, and where he has dealt with ideas and political phenomena, they have put emphasis on rival ambitions in Moscow. Both biographies are padded. Mr. Ebon does it legitimately, by devoting close to half of his book to the reprint of Malenkov's important speech of last October. Mr. Frazier includes such chapters as Malenkov and Sex ("This chapter is the first attempt made anywhere . . .").

Robert Magidoff's book is made of far better tissue, if only because the author is a conscientious reporter with a first-hand knowledge of Russia. Much of its material could, in fact, be used to illustrate Mr. Deutscher's thesis, even though in all likelihood Mr. Magidoff would not see eye to eye with him. Certainly Mr. Magidoff's grim and detailed account of life under Stalinism, and of the resultant strains, would support Mr. Deutscher's argument that Malenkov must undertake reforms if he is to avoid an internal explosion.

Finally, there is a volume that must become indispensable to a student of Russia. "Current Soviet Policies" is a compilation of all the important Soviet documents since last October. It is all there—Stalin's testament ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R."), the case of the Kremlin doctors, Mao's eulogy of Stalin, and even some faked Soviet photographs in *Pravda (Truth)*. The material comes from the valuable *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, and there is a brief introduction by Leo Gruliow. A reader armed with this volume, and with Mr. Deutscher's study, is well equipped to handle anything that may come to him from the dimness of Moscow.

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New Books in Brief

Jefferson on the Air

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE. Edited by and with an Introduction by Dumas Malone; Written by Morton Wishengrad, Milton Geiger, Joseph Mindel, George Probst. Beacon. $3.50.

This is a pleasantly arranged and illustrated reader's version of twelve radio plays presenting episodes in Jefferson's life and some ideas of his that men need to be reminded of. The plays were put on the air for the first time in the autumn of 1952 as part of the Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, and microgroove recordings of them may be had from the association's headquarters at the University of Illinois. Of the plays it may be said that they dramatize the undramatic Jefferson effectively, that they are sweetened with unforced humor and sentiment, and that they are as persistently didactic as the man himself. Their success on the air, with and without the aid of the television camera, has been general, and they should continue to be useful. Jefferson's ideas are necessarily presented somewhat in isolation from their historical and psychological contexts, but as that is how they survive anyway it is hardly an objection to their further propagation over the air waves. All in all, the volume represents a commendably conducted experiment and will be worth study by anyone engaged in similar work.

Applied Gandhi

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By Dhirendra Mohan Datta. University of Wisconsin Press. $2.50.

This book is an analysis of Gandhi's ideas under the headings: Background of Gandhi's Philosophy; God, World, and Man; Morals, Society, and Politics; Moral Leadership of the World. The author is a distinguished professor of philosophy in the University of Patna, India, who spent the academic year 1951-52 as visiting professor at the universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Though Gandhi himself was not a philosopher, the appeal of his ideas lay in their origin in traditional Hindu religio-philosophical thought and the persuasive application which he made of them to modern Indian conditions. They were, too, the directive principles of his private life as well as his public career. Professor Datta, by identifying and defining these ideas, illustrating them from Gandhi's writings, and adding a lucid commentary of his own, provides a brief, instructive aid to the understanding of Gandhi and of India.

Help for Psychopaths

HOPE FOR THE TROUBLED. By Lucy Freeman. Crown Publishers. $3.

A simple and instructive guide "to the various aids available for the emotionally disturbed," by the author of "Fight Against Fears," the story of her own experience with psychoanalysis. Although written on a popular level, for a large audience rather than a sophisticated one, it is sound, useful, and often entertaining. Miss Freeman avoids all the pitfalls that her material and her approach might lead her to. When she permits herself, as in the section on the indiscriminate use of shock treatment and psychosurgery (lobotomy), to deal with more intricate material, she is both acute and eloquent. This is perhaps the best section of the present book; the comment of a "schizophrenic" girl on the real meaning of her shock treatments is illuminating. "I didn't want the insulin to cure me. I wanted it to kill me."

Very Continental

CHERI and THE LAST OF CHERI. By Colette. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

This is a new translation by Roger Senhouse of stories that are perhaps Colette's masterpieces. They trace the history of a handsome, spoiled young gigolo and of his mistress, the demi-mondaine Léa de Lonval, whose whole life has been devoted to men, and who makes the tragic error, in her maturity, of falling in love. In the first book Chéri is also caught by his relationship with Léa; after his marriage he returns and plans to make a new life with her, only to notice, in the morning light, the signs of her age. Colette's heroine, a remarkable person, is left looking into her bedroom pier glass, "wondering what she could have in common with that crazy creature." It is a penetrating and brilliant description of French courtesan life in the pre-war world of

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the 1910's, an ironic and sympathetic Continental tale, quite inconceivable in an American setting, absolutely convincing as it is. In the second book Chéri's life goes rapidly downhill; he returns once more to find his former mistress—this generous, wise, gallant woman—holding herself together by sheer will-power and excellent corsets. But Léa accepts fate and her "sexless dignity," while he disintegrates in the slow, flat, merciless way which Colette describes so well. The two books are quite different in tone; the first one is unique; both are excellent.

Call-Girl and Racketeer

MARTHA CRANE. By Charles Gorham. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

A curious novel which leads one to the conclusion either that Mr. Gorham is an immensely gifted novelist with rather slight intellectual equipment or that, in his own medium, he is doing no better than the "hucksters" he takes off so brilliantly in the area of commercial entertainment. Immensely readable, this story of a call-girl and a Greek racketeer has literary and moral pretensions, but that is all.

Films

Manny Farber

IT WOULD be silly to underrate Hollywood's current battle with stereoscopic film technique. The conversion to 3-D or its alternative, the wide screen, is not any overnight occurrence dreamed up as a counter-attack against television. Hollywood's move toward "giant screen" effects and a three-dimensional look about the actors has been going on in earnest since the period of "The Best Years of Our Lives." In fact, it has been the chief drive in the work of every important American director except De Mille, who never changes, and Huston. The basic objective in "new vision" films seems to be the same as that of "flat" films—a more accurate and natural image.

What you usually see on the new aluminized screen is a picture in which the actors' contours are extremely sharp and there is little building up of the figure with dramatic light effects. The 3-D director, in order to make you aware of the depth factor in a scene, tries to lead your eye quickly past the actors. Along with sharpening the outline of bodies, there is an effort to clarify the "feeling" of negative spaces —the spaces in a composition that are more or less unfilled. One of the most overworked images in the new 3-D's is a view through a frame made of an animal's legs, the boughs of a tree, or the opening between the wheels of a wagon. The frame intensifies the feeling of space behind it, making a sort of hole between the front plane of the screen and whatever is seen in the background.

The result of this three-dimensionalism is a more exact impression of masses. Flat cinema tended to put so many pounds on the actors that the rarest sight in a Hollywood film was a small wiry figure. Now for the first time a lot of lean or close-knit shapes are showing up in films—such as those of Guy Madison and Frank Lovejoy in "Feather River"—and some actors who were getting too bulky for the screen, like Mitchum, seem to have suddenly shrunk.

UNFORTUNATELY, working in a 3-D film does not seem to improve the acting of stars. "Second Chance," the first 3-D with stars in the leading roles, amounts to a sort of hurried tour through Cuernavaca and Taxco. The characters are all chasing one another and fleeing from some dreadful thing in the United States. Jack Palance, an incredibly hardbreathing gunman, is trying to get as far from a crime investigation as possible, Linda Darnell is trying to shake Palance along with her past as a famous gun moll, and Bob Mitchum, also pursuing Darnell, is a prize-fighter drifting down hill from a fight in which he killed an opponent. These unhappy expatriates are not far from

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the characters in any Hemingway short story, but the actors, except Palance in his familiar "burning coal" performance, drift through the story as if it were a bad dream. Darnell's one effective scene is the product of a carefully planned shock—after thirty minutes of being clothed to the neck in black she is suddenly sprung on the audience in a gay, low-cut job. The three-dimensional expanse of Technicolored flesh is all but dazzling. Mitchum always shows good sense in his self-consciously indolent portrayals. He acts unpretentious as a celebrity in a Mexican town, is frankly lascivious the moment he sees Darnell, and manages to look agile and crafty in the prize ring. But that prize-fight scene is the only one in which he seems to be awake.

The actors apparently lose heart when they are shrouded in bad to fair photographic effects. Every actor before he operates must be placed in an awkward composition that carefully defines the front, middle, and back planes of the picture. The shot that made the greatest impression on me was the very first—the back of Palance's head coldly cutting into the bottom of the screen while one of his gangster enemies parades unknowingly before him in the foyer of a hotel. This rigid composition repeats itself almost as often as the "trick" shots—the gun blasting straight at your eyes, the rocket showering sparks on your head, Mitchum dangling Jack Pickford-fashion from a rope attached to a busted cable-car.

Something should be said about the dark, confining spectacles one wears at 3-D films, the multiple sound tracks that give the impression of voices coming from the side of the screen, and the wide screen with all the compositions "masked" top and bottom to fit. However, movies like "Charge at Feather River," "Arena," and "Second Chance" are mainly notable for their simple-minded stories in which there is always a chase after some prize, quarry, or goal as though movement—almost any kind of movement—were the key to depth.

"The Band Wagon" is a unique musical that takes place mostly backstage and shows how a sagging revue was "saved" by a fading star dancer. Nanette Fabray steals a picture that runs through enormous amounts of scenery, as only Director Minelli can make it do.

"Night Without Stars" is a nicely handled story of Riviera intrigue dealing with a nearly blind English lawyer and a power-crazed French lawyer. It has no substance whatsoever.

"From Here to Eternity" is a somewhat truncated and not very bold version of the famous Pearl Harbor novel: intelligent and enjoyable but with too many schmaltzy touches like Clift's beautiful trumpeting on just a bugle's mouthpiece. Except for Sinatra's angry, precocious Italian, the soldiers remind you of Hollywood stars. The girls—Kerr and Donna Reed—are realistic, worn-out, and quite disturbing. More later about this one.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

WHEN Virgil Thomson, in a review of the Columbia recording of Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess," after speaking of the excellence of its famous melodies and the weakness of the recitatives and passage work that cemented these solid musical bricks together, went on to say that the work had no musical shape but was merely a series of very fine musical numbers held together by the play, I wondered that he didn't perceive further that these musical numbers—e.g., "Summertime," "Bess, You Is My Woman Now," "It Ain't Necessarily So"—were in style and expressive connotation the songs of a Gershwin musical show, and acquired no meaning connected with a play about Negro inhabitants of Catfish Row when they were sung by Negroes in "Porgy and Bess." And reading some of the reviews of the revival of this "folk opera" the past season, I wondered again at the failure to perceive this incongruity of a play about Negroes set to the songs of a Gershwin musical, and the fallacy underlying it—the idea that the composer of first-rate American show music was the man to write the American symphony or opera, and that show music was the material to make it out of. This was like saying the Viennese symphony or opera had to be made by Johann Strauss out of his waltzes; and if Johann Strauss had acted on this idea he would have produced works like Gershwin's Piano Concerto and "Porgy and Bess," which are filled with Gershwin show music that communicates in these works exactly what it would communicate in a musical show. And "Porgy" represents the additional fallacy that because the Negro's jazz and blues contributed to the amalgam of Broadway show music, Broadway show tunes are the musical medium for any play about Negroes.

The occasion for speaking of this is the recent production of Blitzstein's "Regina" by the New York City Opera. In an article before the original Broadway production a few years ago Leonard Bernstein cited the public's acceptance of the operatic device of double soliloquy at one point in "South Pacific" in support of his contention that "out of this natural musical theater—one which is

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. . . wholly an outgrowth of our culture —is emerging our opera, intelligible to all, exciting, real, and fitting." Fitting, it seems to me, when it is comedy, but not —judging by "Regina"—when it is melodrama.

Not having seen Lillian Hellman's play "The Little Foxes" I don't know whether in the last scene Regina's demands backed by threats of exposure caused her brother to waggle a finger at her and call her, with mock reproachfulness, a greedy girl. If they did, this moment of grim humor didn't break the continuity and tension of the scene. But in "Regina" it becomes *Greedy Girl,* a musical-comedy song with a clever and amusing lyric, and an interpolation long enough not only to break the tension of the scene and the continuity of the action, but to establish a musical comedy context in which the melodrama becomes as unreal and absurd as the serious moments are in Rodgers and Hammerstein musicals.

And elsewhere in "Regina" such incongruous contexts are created by some of the serious arias which also have the melodies and lyrics and the expressive connotations of show songs. Much of "Regina" is in fact an American musical; and there is nothing wrong in an American musical, but I can't see it working as a setting of a play like "The Little Foxes," nor does Blitzstein's mixture of American musical and verismo work for the play he has made himself out of "The Little Foxes."

The musical-show portions of "Regina" testify to Blitzstein's gift for that genre; from most of the other portions one would conclude that it is exclusively for that genre. He is able to whip up a crescendo of intensity for Regina, to contrive for her the effective device of the innocent-sounding waltz to which she sings venomous words; but for the expressive requirements of the other characters and dramatic situations he reveals an inadequacy of musical imagination and invention that merely reaches its extreme form in the occasional abandonment of music and resort to speech. What he has done in "Regina" is use his gift for musical shows to cover his lack of the gift required to set "The Little Foxes" to music.

Apparently the directors of the New York City Opera hold the ideas I have discussed in this article, including Bernstein's about our opera emerging out of the musical shows that are our "natural" musical theater. I infer this not merely from their producing "Regina," but from their statement last winter that they intended to produce "Show Boat" in order to realize the musical values of this piece that had not been realized on Broadway—a statement which indicated that they too, like C. B. S.'s James Fassett, were unaware of the difference between a Picasso "Guernica" postscript and a Peter Arno cartoon, and of the fact that each has its own quality, its own value, its own perfection. The music of "Show Boat" is some of the loveliest of its kind; but I know of no values in this kind beyond the ones realized in the Broadway productions of such works—which is to say, none of the kind that an opera company is concerned with.

Letters

The "Official" Labor Press

Dear Sirs: Ben Pearse's article, The Labor Press, in your July 25 issue presents an excellent summary of some of the problems of trade-union publications in this country. There is one aspect of the problem of gaining reader interest, however, which Mr. Pearse does not deal with.

He writes that "for the most part, the union paper is not intended to be anything but a house organ, reflecting the policies of the elected officials." That is all too true. What is notably missing in almost all union publications is any provision for the expression of the opinions of sections of the membership or individuals who disagree with the elected officers on matters of policy or the manner in which policy is carried out. The stimulating effects of controversy are almost completely lacking.

In this respect, the union press fails to perform one of the most important educational functions open to it. Intelligent and active members who try to participate in the formation of policy by writing critical letters or articles for the papers find that they are generally suppressed. It is little wonder that even members who start out by being interested eventually come to the conclusion that their union paper is not going to deal with vital issues except in the form of "official" statements heavily larded with "official" optimism and "official" double-talk.

Labor, one of the best of the union papers, is just as guilty of this "house organ" attitude as most others. But it has a special problem, since it is controlled by "Fifteen Recognized Standard Railroad Labor Organizations." At times some of these fall out in their approach to problems, and then the editors of *Labor* are in the soup. Almost never do they follow the obvious and educational method of letting both sides present their case so that the membership may judge the issues. Usually they print almost ludicrously vague articles on such disputes, so that the members must read the daily press or find out from their own officers just what the argument is about. *Labor* of course rigidly excludes any seriously critical letters from its "Editor's Mail Bag" columns.

This policy of the labor press reflects the attitude of most labor leaders toward criticism from the ranks. A labor editor who sought to give full play to democratic discussion in his paper would soon be looking for a job. But there can be no doubt that this aspect of the labor press greatly decreases the interest which it holds for large numbers of trade unionists.

GORDON HASKELL,
Assistant Editor, *Labor Action*
New York

How Can It Be Vitalized?

Dear Sirs: Ben Pearse's Fifteen Million Readers Plus is exciting news. A good labor paper in every one of fifteen million homes, with a possible thirty million readers, might well be the answer to the one-party press. But the labor press as a whole will need a terrific jazzing-up—a task that should be placed high on the agendas of labor conferences and conventions. The handful of notable exceptions only emphasize the abysmal dulness of the mass.

Still, the effort to improve the writing should not lean too heavily on those who make a profession of damning the adjective. Simplicity, yes; since the vast

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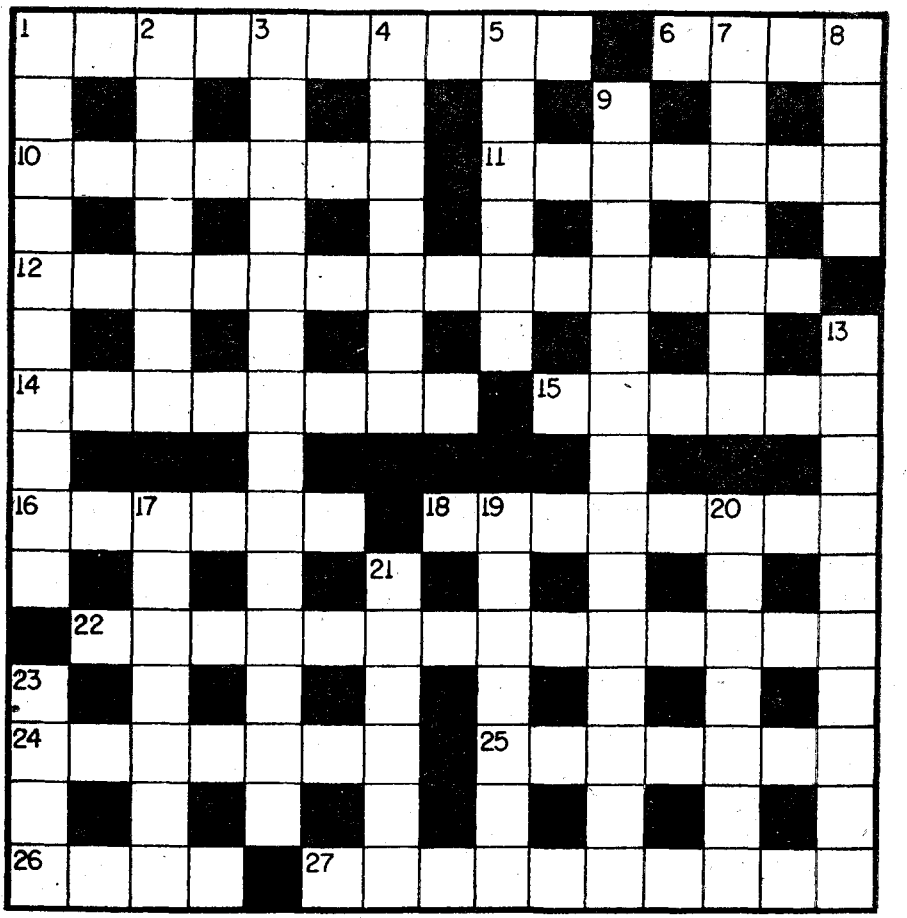
Crossword Puzzle No. 527

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Shaded lane? (5, 5)
6 Misled with a lack of medical authority. (4)
10 Simpers, as a way to attract attention. (7)
11 Coats are not found on those exemplified by Jack Ketch. (7)
12 What's a microcosm? (3, 1, 5, 5)
14 and 9 down. A word to the wise seldom goes! (2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 5)
15 Sounds like a sort of sea scout. (6)
16 Pastry sold at a London garden, or won at the fair? (6)
18 Does the saying imply the horse would have to, if one's timing is off? (8)
22 Certainly not vesper Magnificats. (7–7)
24 Looks with affection? (7)
25 The Tale of Jim Thorpe, perhaps? (7)
26 Usually not held as long at 4 as at the bank. (4)
27 Not high degrees of speed! (10)

DOWN

1 Dip, and the core of the candle is around! (10)
2 This is spread on a little thick. (7)
3 Their occupation might be habit forming. (5, 9)
4 "Met" in its Italian equivalent? (2, 5)
5 Not so well as it used to be? (6)
7 He calls for the coat you might have put on! (7)
8 The way to look for the first of 22 to break. (4)
9 See 14 across.
13 Flowers to Wordsworth, for example? (He's usually considered superior to them!) (10)
17 and 23. Worked in the past with something associated with the press. (7, 4)
19 Inclined not to be what one who 27 does. (7)
20 Support. (7)
21 Implying the air has only one 26 at a time. (6)
23 See 17 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 526

ACROSS:—1 MAJOR INTERVALS; 8 RODOMONTADES; 10 CLEARFIELD; 13 OX-EYES; 14 INNUENDO; 16 EARMUFFS; 17 BEAT IT; 19 TIER; 20 MONTE CARLO; 22 POLE-VAULTING; 23 BEAR TO THE RIGHT.

DOWN:—1 MOROCCO LEATHER; 2 and 11 JUDGE LEARNED HAND; 3 REMORSEFUL; 4 NUNCIO; 5 ENABLING; 6 and 15 VIEW OF TOLEDO; 7 FOOD FOR THOUGHT; 9 BARNSTORMING; 12 TUBERCULAR; 18 ATTACH; 21 DOUR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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majority of our union membership has not had much education. But who has not seen simplicity degenerate into a deadly dulness! To catch and hold interest we need vigor, color, freshness, variety—and above all a concern for the reader as a human being.

Would it be feasible for *The Nation* to have a kind of symposium on "vitalizing the labor press"? The idea has tremendous possibilities. I should very much like to hear from others on the subject. My address is 2502 Mishawaka Ave., South Bend.

NICHOLAS LENTZ, Shop Steward

South Bend, Ind.

To Ben Robbins

Dear Sirs: Three Arrows Cooperative Colony recently celebrated the seventieth anniversary of Ben Robbins, several times the president of our cooperative. A humanist, humanitarian, equalitarian, and so very spirited in his honesty and integrity, Ben has explored the deepest areas of creative living by his dedication to social responsibilities. *Nation* readers, to many of whom Ben Robbins is a symbol of the cooperative spirit, may enjoy this birthday tribute to him.

AN ADAM FOR TOMORROW

Life complained because he dared to smile
When she, in whim, her Gorgon head displayed
Or when, as Lady Fortune, would beguile,
Declined to stoop for dross before him laid.

But at his will he ravished her instead,
Revealing charms the cruel gods forbade
Debasing men so fellowship they dread
To flee from life in ego mantle clad.

In teaching all his wants to do with less
He held a mirror up to Life to show
How beauty seeded deep in selflessness
Was best designed to make the spirit grow.
So Life surrenders all for him to savor
Though jealous that mankind receives his favor.

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HOWARD FAST has been called "the biographer of man's struggle for dignity and freedom." We know of no better definition for his work. It is today twenty years since the publication of Howard Fast's first novel by the Dial Press. During the space of those twenty years, he has become the most widely read of all living novelists—his books translated into every written language on earth. At the same time, his name has become a symbol of the people's resistance to tyranny in America.

Two years ago, Howard Fast began a novel on the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. When he began to write, the Rosenbergs still lived; Harry Truman was president of the land; and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois faced trial as "an agent of peace."

The manuscript of this new novel proceeded slowly. Draft after draft was discarded. As Fast puts it:

> *"The difficulty in writing seemed to increase in relationship to the closeness of the theme. Here was a theme torn out of the very heart of America's agony. Again and again, I failed in what I imagined should be done and in what I felt must be done. The final result can only be called an attempt to interpret a part of a struggle I have been very close to for a long time."*

Nevertheless, the final result, a book called THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, is considered by many to be the most important of Howard Fast's books. It is the tale of the last eighteen hours in the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; it is also a study in the continuing pattern of judicial frame-up and murder here in America —and an investigation into the sources of strength in people who are the victims of these monstrous incidents.

But above all, it is a gripping and moving novel—a book you must not only read yourself, but put into the hands of your friends.

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